

Message Text

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TO AMEMBASSY BONN

INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 166325

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE, NATO

SUBJECT: CSCE/CBMS: FRG REQUEST FOR US VIEWS ON

-- POSSIBLE CBM PROPOSALS FOR 1977 BELGRADE

-- MEETINGS.

1. DURING MAY 24 VISIT TO BONN BY DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL
RESPONSIBLE FOR CSCE, FRG FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIAL WITH
RESPONSIBILITY FOR CSCE/CBMS (GESCHER) MENTIONED SEVERAL
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POSSIBILITIES FOR FURTHER PROGRESS IN THE AREA OF CBMS AT

THE 1977 CSCE FOLLOW-UP MEETINGS IN BELGRADE. SEVERAL OF THESE POSSIBILITIES HAD BEEN MENTIONED BY YUGOSLAVS DURING THEIR RECENT CONSULTATIONS WITH FRG ON CSCE; OTHERS WERE EVIDENTLY FRG IDEAS. BEFORE FRG CON"-DERATION OF THESE POSSIBILITIES PROCEEDS FURTHER, OR FRG RAISES THEM IN NATO FORUM, FRG OFFICIAL ASKED FOR PRELIMINARY US REACTIONS. YOU SHOULD CONVEY PRELIMINARY REACTIONS SET OUT BELOW TO GESCHER.

2. IN CONVEYING OUR REACTIONS, YOU SHOULD NOTE THAT WE DO NOT BELIEVE ALL OF THESE IDEAS ARE LIKELY TO SURVIVE THE PRE-BELGRADE CONSULTATION PROCESS; NOR DO WE BELIEVE IT WOULD BE DESIRABLE TO PRESENT A LONG LIST OF NEW CBM-TYPE PROPOSALS AT BELGRADE, ALTHOUGH WE AGREE WE SHOULD BE PREPARED TO DEAL WITH PROPOSALS FROM OTHERS, ESPECIALLY

THE NEUTRALS. ONE OF OUR OBJECTIVES IN NATO CONSULTATIONS DURING THE COMING MONTHS SHOULD BE TO WEIGH TOGETHER THE PROS AND CONS OF MAKING NEW PROPOSALS, AND, SHOULD THE ALLIES FEEL NEW PROPOSALS ARE DESIRABLE, TO DRAW UP A MANAGEABLE LIST OF CONSTRUCTIVE IDEAS. THUS OUR PRELIMINARY REACTIONS AS OUTLINED BELOW WILL BE DEPENDENT ON ALLIED CONSULTATIONS ON OVERALL OBJECTIVES AND TACTICS FOR THE BELGRADE MEETINGS.

3. IMPROVEMENT OF PARAMETERS FOR NOTIFICATION OF MANEUVERS -- FRG OFFICIAL THOUGHT THERE SHOULD BE NO PROBLEM REACHING AGREEMENT AMONG NATO ALLIES ON PROPOSALS FOR IMPROVING THE PARAMETERS FOR NOTIFICATION OF MANEUVERS (E.G., LOWERING FORCES THRESHOLD FOR NOTIFICATION), WITH THE AIM OF OBTAINING CSCE AGREEMENT TO PARAMETERS MORE CLOSELY APPROXIMATING ORIGINAL NATO PROPOSALS IN CSCE ITSELF. FRG OFFICIAL THOUGHT YUGOSLAVS, ROMANIANS, AND NEUTRALS COULD BE COUNTED ON TO SUPPORT SUCH AN INITIATIVE, WHILE THE SOVIETS AND THEIR ALLIES WOULD OPPOSE IT.

-- PRELIMINARY US VIEW: WE WOULD HAVE NO OBJECTION TO DISCUSSION OF SUCH AN INITIATIVE WITHIN THE ALLIANCE. WE ELIEVE THIS IS WORTH PURSUING PROVIDED THE ALLIES COULD AGREE ON THE SPECIFIC PARAMETERS TO BE PROPOSED.
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4. PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF MAJOR MILITARY MOVEMENTS -- FRG OFFICIAL POINTED OUT THAT THIS IDEA FOR AN ADDITIONAL CBM WOULD HAVE TO BE CONSIDERED IN BELGRADE, SINCE IT IS COVERED IN CBM SECTION OF CSCE FINAL ACT IN SUCH A WAY THAT IT IS ALL BUT INSCRIBED ON THE AGENDA FOR THE FOLLOW-UP MEETINGS. HE ACKNOWLEDGED PAST US RESERVATIONS ABOUT AN AMPLIFIED MOVEMENTS CBM, BUT SAID THE FRG

COULD SUPPORT SUCH A CBM AND ANTICIPATED BROAD ALLIED SUPPORT, PLUS SUPPORT FROM THE NEUTRALS, YUGOSLAVIA AND ROMANIA, FOR WHOM SUCH A CBM WOULD HAVE CONSIDERABLE SIGNIFICANCE. (FYI: IN A SEPARATE CONVERSATION A FRENCH OFFICIAL RESPONSIBLE FOR CSCE HAS INFORMED THE DEPARTMENT THAT FRANCE WOULD SUPPORT A CBM ON PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF MOVEMENTS, WHICH FRENCH VIEW AS BEING MUCH MORE MEANINGFUL THAN EXISTING CBM ON NOTIFICATION OF MANEUVERS. END FYI.) FRG OFFICIAL THOUGHT USSR AND ITS ALLIES WOULD OPPOSE A CBM ON MOVEMENTS.

-- PRELIMINARY US VIEW: WE CONTINUE TO HAVE RESERVATIONS REGARDING THE PRACTICABILITY OF A CBM ON PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF MOVEMENTS, AND BELIEVE ALLIES WILL HAVE TO DISCUSS IN NATO HOW TO DEAL WITH THIS SUBJECT AT BELGRADE.

5. EXTENSION OF THE APPLICABILITY OF CBMS TO THE MEDITERRANEAN -- FRG OFFICIAL SAID YUGOSLAVS HAD RAISED THIS POSSIBILITY WITH BONN. (PRESUMABLY THIS WOULD MEAN APPLICATION OF THE CBMS TO THE NON-PARTICIPATING MEDITERRANEAN STATES.) HE SAID FRG UNDERSTOOD THE DIFFICULTIES INVOLVED, BUT THOUGHT A CBM OF THIS KIND, IF PROPOSED BY YUGOSLAVIA, WOULD ATTRACT SUPPORT FROM MALTA, CYPRUS AND POSSIBLY ITALY AND SPAIN, THUS MAKING IT EXTREMELY DIFFICULT AND SENSITIVE TO DEAL WITH.

-- PRELIMINARY US VIEW: WE HAVE SERIOUS RESERVATIONS ABOUT EXTENSION OF THE CBMS TO THE MEDITERRANEAN.

6. WE ARE NOT PREPARED TO PROVIDE PRELIMINARY USG VIEWS ON THE FINAL TWO ISSUES (PARAS 7 AND 8) AT THIS TIME. YOU SHOULD TELL GESCHER THAT WE HAVE THESE ISSUES UNDER CONFIDENTIAL

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STUDY AND WILL GET BACK IN TOUCH WITH HIM AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

7. INSTITUTIONALIZED MBFR-CSCE LINK -- FRG OFFICIAL SAID YUGOSLAVS WERE VERY INTERESTED IN SOME FORM OF INSTITUTIONALIZED LINKAGE BETWEEN MBFR AND THE CSCE STATES WHICH DO NOT PARTICIPATE IN MBFR. THE YUGOSLAVS HAD SPECULATED TO THE WEST GERMANS THAT SUCH A LINKAGE MIGHT BE ESTABLISHED THROUGH SEMIANNUAL MEETINGS OF THE CSCE PARTICIPATING STATES IN VIENNA, AT WHICH THE MBFR PARTICIPANTS WOULD REPORT THE STATUS OF THE VIENNA NEGOTIATIONS AND THE NON-MBFR CSCE PARTICIPANTS WOULD EXPRESS THEIR VIEWS. FRG OFFICIAL STRESSED THAT HIS GOVERNMENT HAD SINCE CSCE TRIED TO RESPOND TO INTEREST IN MBFR THRU BILATERAL CHANNELS AND HAD REMAINED WILLING TO

PROVIDE INFORMATION ON MBFR BILATERALLY, BUT YUGOSLAVS WERE CLEARLY INTERESTED IN SOME INSTITUTIONAL LINKAGE. (FYI: DESPITE OUR PROBING, YUGOSLAVS HAVE NOT YET MENTIONED THIS IDEA TO US. END FYI.) FRG OFFICIAL SAID THE YUGOSLAVS HAD TOLD BONN THE USSR AND ITS ALLIES WOULD NOT OPPOSE SUCH A LINKAGE.

8. DECLARATION OF FORCE STRENGTHS -- FRG OFFICIAL MENTIONED AS HIS QTE PERSONAL IDEA UNQTE A NEW CBM CALLING FOR EACH CSCE PARTICIPANT TO DECLARE ITS MILITARY FORCE STRENGTHS. FRG OFFICIAL THOUGHT THIS WOULD BE CLEARER AND EASIER TO NEGOTIATE THAN THE SWEDISH CSCE PROPOSAL FOR DECLARATION OF MILITARY EXPENDITURES. HE THOUGHT IT WOULD HAVE SEVERAL ADVANTAGES, INCLUDING THOSE IN MBFR CONTEXT. FRG OFFICIAL THOUGHT HIS IDEA COULD ATTRACT CONSIDERABLE SUPPORT AMONG NATO ALLIES AND NEUTRALS. KISSINGER

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